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PARIS EYES ONLY FOR ROBINSON

FOLLOWING REPEAT MOSCOW 14597 ACTION SECSTATE DTD 11 OCT

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S E C R E T MOSCOW 14597

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PLEASE PASS UNSEC ROBINSON IN PARIS

E.O. 11652 GDS

TAGS: ETRD, UR, US

SUBJECT: FURTHER REPORT ON ROBINSON-PATOLICHEV FINAL MEETING
OCTOBER 11

REF: A. MOSCOW 14596 B. MOSCOW 14584 C. MOSCOW 14434

1. THIS CABLE PROVIDES FURTHER DETAIL ON PATOLICHEV'S STATEMENTS
AT OUR MEETING THIS MORNING, SUPPLEMENTING SUMMARY REPORT AND
RECOMMENDATIONS GIVEN IN REFTEL A. THIS ACCOUNT HAS BEEN
PREPARED SUBSEQUENT TO ROBINSON' DEPARTURE FOR PARIS THIS AFTER-
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2. IT WAS CLEAR WHEN WE ENTERED ROOM THAT PATOLICHEV SEEMED

UPSET AND HIS MANNER FROM OUTSET WAS MORE INTENSE THAN USUAL. HE INTERRUPTED ROBINSON'S INITIAL PRESENTATION SUMMARIZING U.S. POSITION AS SET FORTH IN MEETING OCTOBER 10 (REFTEL B) TO COMPLAIN ABOUT REPEATED PUBLIC STATEMENTS IN U.S. CONCERNING OUR TALKS, WHICH CONTRASTED WITH COMPLETE SILENCE FROM SOVIET SIDE IN ACCORDANCE WITH PRIOR AGREEMENT WITH U.S. THAT NEGOTIATIONS WOULD BE CONFIDENTIAL. PATOLICHEV WENT TO HIS DESK TO GET REPORT ON SECRETARY BUTZ'S STATEMENT OCTOBER 10 AND READ EXCERPTS FROM IT, NOTING PARTICULARLY BUTZ STATEMENT THAT THE TEMPORARY BAN ON SALES OF GRAIN TO THE SOVIET UNION WAS BEING MAINTAINED SINCE FULL AGREEMENT HAD STILL NOT BEEN ACHIEVED ON SOME POINTS IN THE GRAIN ACCORD. AT THE SAME TIME, BUTZ STATED, THE BAN ON SALES TO POLAND HAD BEEN LIFTED.

3. PATOLICHEV SAID BUTZ EITHER HAD BEEN MISINFORMED ABOUT THE MOSCOW TALKS -- WHERE FULL AGREEMENT HAD BEEN REACHED ON THE GRAIN AGREEMENT -- OR HIS STATEMENT REPRESENTED A DELIBERATE U.S. POLICY TO MISLEAD THE PUBLIC. PATOLICHEV ASKED ROBINSON FOR AN EXPLANATION OF THE REASONS FOR BUTZ'S STATEMENT AND SAID THAT HE FELT SOVIETS IN RESPONSE WOULD HAVE TO PUBLISH A FULL VERSION OF WHAT ACTUALLY HAD TAKEN PLACE IN OUR DISCUSSIONS.

4. IN OTHER COMMENTS, PATOLICHEV REFERRED TO "ZIG ZAGS" IN U.S. POLICY AS REVEALED DURING OUR NEGOTIATIONS. REFERRING TO ROBINSON'S STATEMENTS THAT WE CONTINUE TO WANT TO ACHIEVE AGREEMENT, PATOLICHEV SAID HE WANTED TO BELIEVE WHAT ROBINSON WAS SAYING BUT TO DO SO HE HAD TO SUPPRESS ALL OF HIS NATURAL INSTINCTS AND HIS CONSCIENCE. HE STILL HOPED COMMON SENSE WOULD PREVAIL, AND THIS WAS THE ONLY REASON HE HAD NOT CALLED A PRESS CONFERENCE TODAY, AFTER READING BUTZ'S STATEMENT, TO EXPLAIN THE SOVIET POSITION. PATOLICHEV SAID THAT SOVIET PEOPLE COULD NEVER UNDERSTAND HOW USSR COULD BOW TO PRESSURE FROM U.S. HE RECALLED LENIN'S POLICY DURING MOST DIFFICULT PERIODS OF SOVIET HISTORY, KRASIN'S CONFIDENT UTAND AT GENOA CONFERENCE AFTER WWI, AND SAID THINGS HAD REACHED A POINT WHERE HE (PATOLICHEV) FELT HE COULD NO LONGER BE SILENT. IN A SUBSEQUENT BURST OF ELOQUENCE, PATOLICHEV REFERRED TO ALEXANDER NEVSKY AND HIS DEFENSE OF RUSSIA AGAINST HER ENEMIES.

5. PATOLICHEV ALSO DWELT AT LENGTH ON WHAT HE SAW AS CONTRA-SECRET

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DICTIONARY POSITIONS WHICH U.S. WAS ADOPTING IN OUR ATTITUDES TOWARDS SOVIET UNION. HE RECALLED PRESIDENT FORD'S STATEMENTS TO DOBRYNIN IN RECENT MEETING WHICH HAD BEEN VERY POSITIVE IN TONE AND HAD PROMISED EFFORTS TO OVERCOME PROBLEMS IN ALL AREAS. HE CONTRASTED THIS WITH U.S. PRESSURE BEING EXERTED IN CONNECTION WITH GRAIN/OIL NEGOTIATIONS. THIS WAS COMPLETELY AT ODDS WITH STATEMENTS MADE TO DOBRYNIN AND IT WAS DIFFICULT TO BELIEVE THAT BOTH POLICIES WERE DIRECTED BY THE SAME MAN.

6. PATOLICHEV STRESSED THAT WE WERE DEALING IN FACT WITH A SIMPLE SALE AND PURCHASE AGREEMENT BU U.S. WAS COMPLICATING IT TO SUCH A POINT THAT IT RISKED STARTING A CHAIN REACTION WHICH COULD AFVERSELY AFFECT OUR RELATIONS. HE THOUGH THAT NO ONE COULD UNDERSTAND WHY SUCH A RICH COUNTRY AS THE U.S. COULD BE ACTING LIKE AN UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRY IN CLAIMING A NEED TO HAVE DEFERRED PAYMENTS ON PURCHASES OF OIL AND WANTED TO HAVE ITS TANKERS CLEANED AT SOVIET EXPENSE. TO ACT IN THIS MANNER WAS NOT ONLY HUMILITATING TO THE SOVIET UNION, BUT WAS STILL MORE HUMILIATING TO THE U.S. WHEN ROBINSON INTERJECTED THAT HE HAD NOT MENTIONED THE POINT ABOUT CLEANING OF SHIPS, PATOLICHEV SAID THAT IT HAD BEEN PROPOSED (NOTE: PRESUMABLY IN WASHINGTON APPROACH TO DOBRYNIN). HOWEVER, HE SAID THIS WAS A DETAIL, AS WERE THE OTHER POINTS WHICH ROBINSON HAD ENUNCIATED CONCERNING FREIGHT RATES, TRANSPORTATION CONDITIONS, DEFERRED PAYMENTS, ETC.

7. IN CONNECTION WITH OUR SUGGESTION FOR DEFERRED PAYMENTS, PATOLICHEV INQUIRED WITH SOME IRONY EXACTLY WHAT WE HAD IN MIND: THE SOVIET UNION PROVIDED DEFERRED PAYMENT FOR VARIOUS TIME PERIODS TO UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES AS WELL AS TO SOME COMPANIES IN DEVELOPED COUNTRIES. HE WONDERED WHAT WE WANTED. ROBINSON REPLIED THAT HE DID NOT WISH TO GO INTO DETAIL BUT SIMPLY TO RAISE THE POSSIBLITY OF SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT FOR CONSIDERATION.

8. AT ONE POINT IN THE CONVERSATION, THERE WAS SOMEWHAT UNCLEAR STATEMENT BY PATOLICHEV REGARDING ROBINSON INQUIRY AS TO WHETHER PATOLICHEV COULD CONFIRM THAT DOBRYNIN HAD BEEN GIVEN SAME RESPONSE FROM MOSCOW AS HAD BEEN CONVEYED DIRECTLY TO ROBINSON CONCERNING OUR PROPOSALS. PATOLICHEV EVIDENTLY TOOK THIS AS A REFERENCE TO OUR LETTER (REFTEL C) CONTAINING A DIRECT PROPOSAL FOR A 15 PERCENT DISCOUNT. ALTHOUGH HE HAD UNDERSTOOD THAT SECRETARY KISSINGER WOULD BE MAKING SIMILAR PROPOSAL TO DOBRYNIN,

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SUCH A PROPOSAL HAD NEVER BEEN MADE. DESPITE THIS, DOBRYNIN HAD BEEN FURNISHED WITH FULL SOVIET POSITION REJECTING SUCH A PROPOSAL, EXACTLY ALONG LINES CONVEYED TO ROBINSON. IT SEEMED APPARENT THAT PAPOLICHEV FELT THERE WAS SOME INCONSISTENCY IN FACT THAT PROPOSAL ON 15 PERCENT REDUCTION MADE BY ROBINSON HAD NOT BEEN REPEATED TO DOBRYNIN.

9. SUMMING UP HIS VIEWS, PATOLICHEV SAID IT WAS QUITE EVIDENT FROM LATEST U.U. PROPOSALS -- "WHICH WERE FULL OF SUCH THINGS AS CHARGES FOR CLEANING SHIPS AND OTHER SIMILAR THINGS" -- THAT WASHINGTON HAD NOT BEEN LISTENING TO WHAT PATOLICHEV HAD BEEN TELLING ROBINSON. HE URGED ROBINSON TO REPORT ONCE AGAIN TO THE PRESIDENT AND TO THE SECRETARY ON THE SOVIET POSITION. WE WERE WASTING OUR ITME IF WE EXPECTED THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD YIELD ON THEIR PRINCIPLES. HE URGED ONCE AGAIN THAT FAVORABLE CONSIDERATION

BE GIVEN TO PROPOSAL HE HAD PRESENTED OCTOBER 10 ON LETTER OF
INTENT ON OIL (REFTEL A). STOESSEL UNQTE KISSINGER

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